

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4488

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINR, SHUM, WZ

SUBJECT: PAC EXPLUSION FROM SWAZILAND

1. SUMMARY: WITH THE BENEFIT OF HINDSIGHT AND DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAZI OFFICIALS AND OTHERS CONERNED, IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO TRACE THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AND MOTIVATIONS THAT HAVE LED TO THE GOS ACTIONS OF DETAINING MOST PAC/SWAZILAND (PAC/S) MEMBERS AND SOME OF THEIR SWAZI SYMPATHIZERS. END SUMMARY.

A. CHRONOLOGY AND BACKGROUND: CHIEF NTUNJA OF THE MNGOMEZULU CLAN (WHICH IS SPREAD ON BOTH SIDES OF THE SWAZI-RSA BORDER) WAS OUSTED BY SAG AND A PUPPET CHIEF INSTALLED. NTUNJA, A SWAZI CITIZEN AND CLOSE TO KING SOBHUZA, FLED TO SWAZILAND. AN ESTIMATED 5,000 OF HIS FOLLOWERS EVENTUALLY LEFT RSA
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DURING 1976-77 AND FOLLOWED NTUNJA TO SWAZILAND. NTUNJA'S FOLLOWERS BEGAN RAIDS BACK INTO SOUTH AFRICA WHICH PROVOKED RETALIATORY RAIDS IN SWAZILAND BY MNGOMEZULUS STILL IN SOUTH AFRICA.

B. PAC/S UNDER JOSEPH MKHWANAZI DECIDED TO OFFER ARMS AND EVENTUALLY TRAINING TO NTUNJA'S FOLLOWERS

IN SWAZILAND. BY KEEPING CROSS-BORDER RAIDS ACTIVE, PAC/S HOPED TO DIVERT SAG BORDER SECURITY FORCES ATTENTION FROM PAC ACTIVITY ELSEWHERE IN THE AREA AND TO RECRUIT MNGOMEZULU FOR PAC/S. MKHANAZI USED THIS TRIBAL DISPUTE TO SUBSTITUTE FOR MOZAMBIQUE'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW PAC/S TO INFILTRATE RSA FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

C. KING SOBHUZA ASKED PAC/CC IN DAR ES SALAAM TO CONTROL MKHWANAZI'S ACTIVITIES OR REMOVE HIM AND OTHERS FROM SWAZILAND. PAC/CC, UNDER LIBALO, FAILED AND APPARENTLY CONCEDED IT WAS UNABLE TO CONTROL PAC/S. MKHWANAZI ASKED PAC/CC TO OPEN TRAINING CAMPS IN SWAZILAND TO AVOID EXPENSE AND PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTING RECRUITS TO TANZANIA. PAC/CC OPPOSED THE PLAN, PRESUMABLY ON GROUNDS THAT THE RISK TO ITS BASE OF OPERATIONS IN SWAZILAND, AND TO GOS (FROM SAG RETALIATION) WAS TOO GREAT.

D. REVERED PAC PRESIDENT SOBHUKWE DIED, FEB. 1978, LEAVING A VACUUM IN PAC LEADERSHIPS. RIVALRIES THAT HAD BEEN LATENT EMERGED FULLY. PAC/CC AND PAC/S SPLIT OVER ISSUES OF INCREASING LEVEL OF ACTIVISM AND PAC/CC VS LOCAL CONTROL OF PAC/SWAZILAND. THERE IS A STRONG RUMOR THAT THE SPLIT PARTLY EMERGED ALONG TRIBAL LINES; PAC/CC IS REPORTEDLY DOMINATED BY XHOSAS WHILE PAC/S IS COMPOSED OF ETHIC SWAZIS (WHO LIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA) ZULUS AND OTHERS.

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E. PAC/S ESTABLISHED ARMS CACHE AT MOOIHOEK AND TRAINING CAMP NEARBY. KING SOBHUZA CALLED LIBALO AND SIBEKO FROM TANZANIA. LIBALO CAME TO SWAZILAND AND PROVIDED NAMES OF PAC MEMBERS WHO WERE OUT OF CONTROL OF PAC/CC AND THAT HE WANTED DETAINED AND EXPELLED FROM SWAZILAND.

F. DETENTION OF PAC/S MEMBERS BEGAN ON APRIL 7, THE DAY LIBALO LEFT SWAZILAND, AND HAS BEEN EXPANDED IN INCLUDE PAC SYMPATHIZERS AMONG SWAZI CITIZENS AND SOWETO REFUGEE STUDENTS. A TOTAL OF SOME FIFTY (50) PERSONS, INCLUDING SEVERAL WOMEN, ARE BEING HELD AS OF APRIL 15. EXPULSION ORDERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED ALREADY FOR 14 PAC MEMBERS AND 15 SOWETO STUDENTS. UNHCR STILL HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN ACCESS AND HAS NOT YET BEGUN TO SEEK ONWARD DESTINATION. (AT NO REPEAT NO TIME HAS GOS CONSIDERED EXPELLING PAC MEMBERS, SYMPATHIZERS OR STUDENT REFUGEES TO SOUTH AFRICA.)

COMMENT: THE ENTIRE AFFAIR HAS SEEN A REMARKABLE CONVERGENCE OF USUALLY DIVERGENT INTERESTS. LHEPAC/S MOVING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A TRIBAL CLASH, WHICH

THE GOS COULD NOT EFFECTIVELY CONTROL DUE TO THE CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHIEF NTUNJA AND KING SOBHUZA, OPENED A SIGNIFICANT BREAK WITH PAC/CC. THE PAC/CC WAS UNABLE TO CONTROL PAC/S IN PART DUE TO THE LACK OF CLEAR-CUT AUTHORITY INSIDE PAC CAUSED BY THE SYMBOLIC BUT RESTRICTED LEADERSHIP OF SOBHUKWE. PAC/S EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITY IN SWAZILAND TO THE POINT WHERE GOS FELT THAT PAC/S ACTIVITIES THREATENED GOS SECURITY BY INVITING ECONOMIC OR MILITARY INTERVENTION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

PAC/S FELT THAT ITS EXPANDED ACTIVITIES IN SWAZILAND WERE NECESSARY AS PAC DOES NOT OPERATE OUT OF LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE OR ZAMBIA. PAC/CC WAS NOT WILLING TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LOSE ITS ONLY BASE OF OPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BY ALIENATING GOS AND INVITING OPEN RETALIATION FROM SAG. AS THIS POINT A REMARKABLE CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS OCCURRED ENTERED ON PAC/S. THE SAG WANTED THE TRAINING CAMP CLOSED AND PAC WEAKENED; GPRM WAS WILLING TO SEE PAC/S FURTHER WEAKENED; GOS DID NOT WANT TO GIVE SAG AN EXCUSE FOR MILITARY OR ECONOMIC RETALIATION AND PAC/CC, UNDER LIBALO, WAS ATTEMPTING TO ASSERT ITS AUTHORITY OVER PAC/S. THE MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS GAVE GOS SUFFICIENT EXCUSE AND OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK PAC/S AND RASORE ITS PREVIOUS WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH SAG AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

GOS HAS ONCE AGAIN RESUMED ITS PRECARIOUS STANCE OF BALANCING OFF THE NEEDS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY INTERESTS. THEY HAVE PURCHASED THEMSELVES A FEW MORE MONTHS, OR PERHAPS A YEAR OR TWO OF RELATIVE PEACE FOR THEMSELVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT THE PRESSURE FROM BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST AND EXPAND. AT SOME POINT, PROBABLY IN THE POST-SOBHUZA ERA, SWAZILAND WILL BE SWEEPED INTO THE TURBULENCE OF THE REGION. NORLAND

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